

for war making Saddam Hussein develop and possesses, he will use. And that is why it is so critical to deny him that capacity.

The specific course that President Clinton and some of those of our allies who seem more likely to stand with us—such as the British, probably the Turkish, others, hopefully in the moderate nations of the Arab world—the specific course that President Clinton as Commander in Chief chooses to take is, of course, respectfully his judgment. But I hope in the fateful days that are ahead when this Congress is out of session and these decisions will probably have to be made that the President appreciates what I sense as I talk to colleagues here in the Senate, that there is a broad bipartisan understanding of the seriousness of the challenge that Saddam Hussein has cleverly and diabolically set before us; and that there will be broad bipartisan support for an effective response as determined by the President of the United States, hopefully in joint action with a large number of our allies.

So, Mr. President, this has been a long session—a session of extraordinary accomplishments, certainly on the balanced budget, and some disappointment, of course, as always is the case in other areas.

But, as we depart, we leave some immense decisions to be made by the President and the administration. And I hope that they will be made in the spirit that this Congress across party lines will support the Commander in Chief when he chooses to lead, and that across party lines we understand that partisanship, though it may occasionally rear its head too often perhaps here in Congress, certainly does end at the Nation's coasts when our security and our values are threatened throughout the world.

I thank the Chair. I thank my colleagues for their patience.

I yield the floor.

Mr. ALLARD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended until 2:30 p.m. under the same terms as previously agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ALLARD. I yield the floor.

Mr. TORRICELLI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Thank you, Mr. President.

A PERSONAL MESSAGE TO SADDAM HUSSEIN

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, almost 10 years ago I had an opportunity

in visiting Baghdad to meet with Saddam Hussein and members of his cabinet.

I went to Iraq because of a brutal and seemingly endless conflict between the armies of Iran and Iraq that were consuming hundreds of thousands of lives. Like many people in our Government, I was concerned about how this would impact the region, and whether, indeed, it threatened world peace. I left Baghdad with unmistakable impressions of Saddam Hussein who continued to influence my own judgment, and which I revisit now—that we are on the verge of yet another conflict with the army of Iraq.

President Hussein knew little of the Western World, and profoundly misunderstood the United States. Because we are a good and a decent people willing to engage in dialog, it was interpreted as a lack of resolve; a failure of will.

It was for these reasons when President Bush sent American forces to the Persian Gulf that I was proud as a Member of the House of Representatives to be the Democratic sponsor of the war resolution.

In the years since American men and women triumphed in the Persian Gulf war to uphold the will of the United Nations and serve the best traditions of our country, the Saddam Hussein that I met on that day has not only not changed; he remarkably seems to have learned very little.

His rape and pillage of Kuwait is now known to have included not simply combatants but thousands of innocent Kuwaiti citizens. Six years after his retreat from Kuwait he continues to hold 620 unaccounted for Kuwaiti civilians. Upon his retreat he torched the land with oil fires and sullied the water, creating the largest oilspill and oil fires in history.

In 1988, he employed mustard gas against his own people killing more than 5,000 Kurds.

The Saddam Hussein that America met in the Persian Gulf war was not an isolated departure from good judgment. It was part of a long record of brutality against his own people and his neighbors.

Today we are on the verge of yet another conflict with Saddam Hussein, because not only is there a long tradition of such irresponsible international behavior but because nothing seemingly has changed.

In 1992, he violated the terms of the gulf war cease-fire by moving anti-aircraft missiles into northern and southern Iraq. The world responded. The coalition held. And more than 100 United States, British, and French planes fired on missile stations.

A year later—in 1993—still not having learned the price of his misjudgments, Saddam Hussein ordered an attempt on the life of former President George Bush. President Bush was visiting Kuwait. Not only was Saddam Hussein not humbled in the face of the victor; he planned an assassination

leading to an American military response against his intelligence headquarters.

In 1994, he sent battalions of Iraqis 20 miles north of the Kuwaiti border. Again, the United States needed to respond and 40,000 troops were again sent to the Persian Gulf.

And, last year, despite a willingness by the United Nations to begin easing sanctions in order to ease the pain on the Iraqi people in a food for oil program that was instituted, Saddam Hussein responded by military attack against the Kurds in the town of Erbil needing a response with the oil for food program.

There are few comparisons in contemporary history of any leader in any government that has so routinely miscalculated at the disadvantage of his government and himself.

The Saddam Hussein that I met a decade ago may not have understood much about the world, or his place in it, the relative power of his country as opposed to potential adversaries, the use of technology, his measure of international will—his misunderstanding of the United States may have been legendary—but it is almost unbelievable that with these annual confrontations, this extraordinary record of miscalculations, that virtually nothing seems to have been learned.

What more is necessary to be understood about the resolve of the United States? This Government is clearly prepared to pay the price to maintain the peace in the Middle East. This country has a deep determination to deny Saddam Hussein every and all classes of weapons of mass destruction.

The United States will provide leadership for international response when necessary, but clearly is both capable and willing to act unilaterally if required.

What is it, Saddam Hussein, that you do not understand about the world resolve? And what is it about us that could still be unclear?

Last month, this long and extraordinary record of miscalculation added yet another chapter. Saddam Hussein barred access to U.N. weapons inspectors under the pretext that they included American citizens. He challenged the right of the United States to be a part of the inspection teams of the United Nations, and asked rhetorically by what right we would be present.

Saddam Hussein, it comes to mind that the United States has about 500,000 reasons why we have a right to participate and will demand full compliance—a reason for every man and woman that left family, friends and home to put their lives on the line in the Persian Gulf war to end your occupation of Kuwait. And those 500,000 reasons have not yet run their course. They will stand for a long time.

The record since the United Nations began the inspections to ensure compliance with its resolutions has not been without success.

Since 1991, U.N. inspectors have found and destroyed more illegal weapons in Iraq than were destroyed during